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[Information on the role of the "principales" in Tzeltal society has been filed in categories 624 and/or 794.]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

Physically, the people are taller and somewhat heavier boned than the Bachajon. The older men have small beards, close to their chins, of sparse, wiry black hair. Moustaches are faint. The men wear their hair longer on the backs of their necks and over the tops of their ears (fig. 313).

The men's costume is like that of Ocosingo Valley, a long, V-necked tunic without buttons, coming down nearly to their knees, but the trousers are usually rolled up until almost hidden. A plain red sash is worn knotted in front with ends hanging.

We had great difficulty in getting a look at any of the women until finally the officials arranged for a few of them to come and

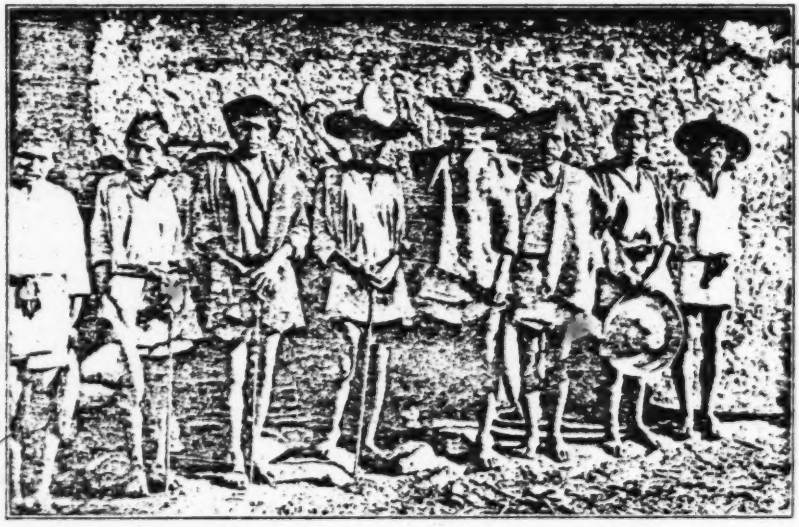

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chia. The Village Elders.

be photographed with their husbands (fig. 314). Nothing could have brought them alone. They were very strange and stiff about the whole thing, and showed more genuine fear of the camera than we saw anywhere else. The women of marriageable age draw their hair together at the back of the head. Around it a long, red, woolen ribbon, about three centimeters wide, is wrapped until it forms a disk standing out like a halo, the exact size being a matter of coquetry. The hair is then turned back and laid along the edge of the disk and wrapped in the last few rounds of ribbon. The result is that it comes out from the head through the center of the disk in a thick mass, then forms a flat elbow where it is doubled back to the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Tzotzil NV11

The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

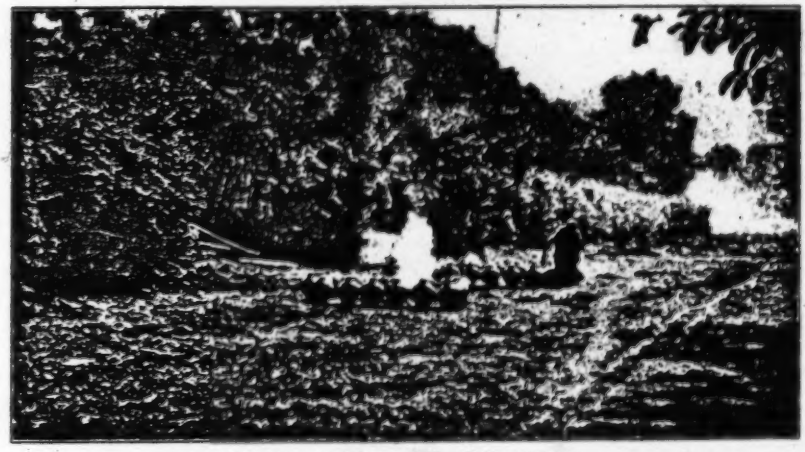

FIG. 889—Amatenango, Chis. Pottery baking.

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms
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[885] of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

273* The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is,
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• 623 as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring per-
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755 formances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle
Mexico NU1

Preface

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And so we shall be able to do what our mothers
did and what our fathers did here where our
Holy Father sees us and our Holy Mother sees us.

From the prayer said at the time of taking offices in the civil hierarchy

In all societies, some of the ideology and behavior of the past persists after their relevance to current problems has ended. How much this continuity eases the absorption of change by providing meaning and motivation and how much it hinders the ability to deal with current issues and to plan for the future is a long-standing social problem. It is of special relevance to developing nations undergoing changes that transform all social institutions. Developing nations have focused their planning on economic change in the hope that other institutions will respond automatically. This hope has not been justified.

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Mexico has shown a growing awareness of the strength to be drawn from its rich cultural heritage in the five decades of development since the revolution. The changes that were transforming the cities a generation ago are now drawing enclaves of Indian populations into the mainstream of national development. In the 1930s government policy was directed toward transforming Indians into modern nationals. Since the 1950s there has been an increasing effort to incorporate Indians without suppressing their distinctive customs and languages. The old melting pot policy has given way to a new policy of selective adaptation.

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For the Indians, adhering to the ways of the ancestors is the means of surviving as a people. Their sense of cultural survival is threatened by the

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The authority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institutions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the religious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral figures has been undermined.

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behavior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

phrase "worth my time"). He therefore persuaded a Ladino of Teopisca to lend him 5,000 pesos. He went down to hot country and bought corn when it was scarce in the village, brought it up the hill, sold a little to pay for his needs, but held the rest until the price went up in the next three months. In a two year period of buying and selling with his 5,000 peso investment, he grossed 400,000 pesos. Afterwards he began to hire men to work in his milpa. At a meeting of the cooperative association in 1966, Santos defended his investments of the association's funds by showing his carefully kept accounts. He held up his pencil saying proudly, "This is my machete! This is my hoe!" The phrasing is an imitation of Ladino rhetoric of the provinces.

Santos served as treasurer of the ejido commission and of the town. In 1965 he was made a *nič'nal martoma,* or junior religious official in charge of caring for the saints. His appointment was an attempt made by the former president, a member of the Ladino-owned trucking concern, to cut down Santo's operations in passenger traffic on Sunday by keeping him occupied in religious activities. While in office, Santos began an enquiry into the use of the funds collected in donations to the saints. The priest had gained control over these funds, and had not subjected the collection to the public review and accounting procedures by which funds had been handled by the civil administration. Santos demanded an explanation by the priest, who refused to make a statement. The issue was raised in a general assembly of the men of the community which occurs sporadically on Sundays. Meanwhile Santos was taking advantage of the money associated with each of the major saints. In the cargo system for the care of saints, a fund of money is passed over in the installation ceremony from the outgoing mayordomos to the incoming mayordomo. This fund has always been passed over to the incoming officials with an increment of about 10 pesos. Santos requested the use of these funds to "make them grow," and he thus gained uncontested access to low interest funds which he used in his brokerage activities. In addition to the interest, he gave a gift of clothing to the saint to maintain good credit relations.

Santos' administration of funds in his public capacity as town treasurer, storekeeper, and treasurer of both the ejido commission and the truck cooperative won him a reputation of honesty and reliability. His knowl-

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

621 The communal offices of the Ayuntamiento and Mayordomías
623 form a hierarchical age-grade system, with a partially compulsory
794 sequence of cargos (literally burdens, although it can best be
561 translated as offices) which end in the cargo of Principal, who is a member of the community council of elders.

561 The age-grade system does not have corporate groups of the age-set type common in East Africa. The system only places the individual in relation to others who are higher or lower than him in the hierarchy. People belonging to the same level of the hierarchy do not act as a group, nor do they develop special relations with each other.

184 The name and number of officerships differ everywhere in
621 the Chiapas highlands from village to village. Larger towns have
794 a larger number of governmental posts within the hierarchy; in some towns the Church organization is more elaborate (perhaps because it was originally a curato head town, or had a convento in the village), the Mayordomías and Cofradías (religious brotherhoods which carry on some fiesta celebrations) have a larger membership, a more elaborate ritual and carry on a larger number of fiestas, while in other villages the Mayordomías have a secondary role with respect to the civil government. This is not the place to discuss the historical and functional reasons for this extensive variation, which would take a study in its own right, but the important thing is that although the form varies, the basic system of hierarchically graded officerships stays the same in all the Chiapas highlands, including Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Zabala, 1961 and Figs. 2 and 3).

621 Moreover, he can more easily [54]
624 fulfill these requisites if he had been able in his lifetime to
554 become the jural head of a large and united extended family, be-
596 cause, given the fact that he should be able to control the opinions and actions of many villagers, it is his personal power with other individuals which supports his position as principal, and not the reverse.

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• [623] Town officials, although they are selected by the previous officers and approved by the principales, have to be ratified in their positions by all the household heads in a public meeting. The different qualifications of some men for the higher posts creates some disparity in the number of cargos held by a particular individual, but the differences are never enough to say that political power is differentially distributed. The following table and figure show the distribution of officerships by age group, in a random sample of married men in Aguacatenango, and it confirms the idea that the villagers themselves have about their access to political officership: any normal, married man with more than one child is capable of achieving, in a hierarchical order, several political posts.[1]

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[184] [1]This system is in contrast with other villages in the area. In the very large communities with paraje type settlements (a nucleated village which functions as a ceremonial and political center surrounded by dispersed hamlets) such as Tenejapa or Zinacantan, although the number of offices is tremendously increased, the population is so large that only a few men from each paraje pass the cargos, and the ideal of every man participating in the hierarchy of power is never attained. In those cases, only the richer obtain office, and the "democratic" aspects of the system are less noticeable. It could be that an egalitarian political organization can only be maintained when the population size is limited, and that a large social group with a centralized organization "needs" differential power distribution, or, rather, cannot avoid the differential distribution of political power among the population groups.

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [503] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [122] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [527] [1] A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.